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Institute of Latin American Studies
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Richard Gott is a Visiting Research Fellow at the Institute of Latin American Studies, University of London. For many years he was a senior editor on the *Guardian*. Since the 1960s he has written extensively on Latin America, most recently *In the Shadow of the Liberator: The Impact of Hugo Chávez on Venezuela and Latin America* (2001). He is currently writing a history of Cuba.

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Richard Gott

The utopian German philosopher Karl Krause was defeated by Hegel in a competition for the philosophy professorship at Berlin University in 1813, and disappeared into obscurity as far as the Anglo-Saxon world was concerned. In the Hispanic sphere, however, his philosophy of harmonious rationalism fuelled the Spanish Revolution of 1868, and subsequently spread throughout Latin America, via José Martí and Hipólito Yrigoyen, to help create the intellectual climate in the early decades of the twentieth century in which Fidel Castro and Che Guevara were brought up. This paper suggests that the Cuban Revolution may owe as much to Karl Krause as it does to Karl Marx and to Hegel.

The 'special period' in Cuba of the 1990s — as the memory of the Soviet Union slowly disappeared into history — saw the revival of official interest in two earlier heroes of the Revolution. There was a fresh emphasis on Che Guevara and his concept of the 'new man', as well as 'the revision, rescue and revival' of the myth of José Martí.[1] Behind the figure of Martí, of course, stands Fidel Castro himself, whose 'thought' cannot be tastefully erected onto a pedestal during his lifetime.

Guevara and Martí are now again being presented as the two emblematic figures of the Cuban Revolution, although the ideas that they formulated were of course very much present in the first revolutionary years of the 1960s. Later, during the Soviet-influenced decades from 1970 to 1990, Martí played second fiddle to Marx, while Guevara became almost a non-person. His global revolutionary activities, notably in Africa, were purposefully forgotten. Only in schools, where children were encouraged by Fidel to 'be like Che', was his memory kept alive.

In the last decade, however, the ideas of Guevara and Martí–Fidel have returned to centre stage. Guevara's text of 1965, *Socialism and the New Man in Cuba*, has been dusted down and given fresh currency, while Fidel's internationalist fervour has been boosted by posters in the street that refer to Martí's texts on 'humanity'.

1 Antoni Kapcia notes this phenomenon in his recent book *Cuba, Island of Dreams* (Oxford, 2000).

The original attraction of the Cuban Revolution in the 1950s was the fact that it did not seem to fit into a familiar historical straitjacket. A genuine Revolution had clearly occurred, the old institutional structure of the country had been swept away, and new forces and players had emerged. But this new phenomenon seemed a trifle lacking in ideological rigour or clarity. Castro and the men of the 26 July Movement (they were mostly men) were clearly rationalists, idealists, nationalists and utopians. They were also internationalists and anti-imperialists. Equally clearly, they were not philosophers or political scientists, or economists, and they were not very obviously socialists or Marxists. Their chief characteristics were their strong moral sense — they were deeply imbued with notions of duty — and their emphasis on education.

So where did their ideas come from?

The only document available at the time to indicate the ideological outlook of Castro and his Revolution was his trial speech of October 1953, *History will Absolve Me*, delivered in Santiago after the attack on the military barracks at Moncada and Bayamo on 26 July that year. In it Castro outlined his intellectual debt to José Martí, born one hundred years earlier, in 1853, and killed at the start of the Cuban War of Independence in 1895: 'I named Martí as the inspirer of the 26 July [Movement]', he declared in court, and 'I carry in my heart the teaching of the Maestro.' Since Martí had been a prominent Cuban intellectual and a prolific writer and journalist, as well as a revolutionary activist, most people were happy to investigate no further. Few people bothered to enquire about the origins of Martí's ideas.

For most of the past 40 years, scholars in Cuba (as well as those outside the island) have spent much time and effort teasing out the early Marxist and socialist influences on the Cuban Revolution. Since Cuba had fallen into the arms of the Soviet Union, that seemed to be an important and necessary task of explanation. Yet, as a result, some other significant lineages were ignored, notably the philosophical and ethical traditions of nineteenth-century Spain that Cuba and much of Latin America had inherited. Such traditions, it could be argued, were staring students of the Cuban Revolution in the face all the time.

The seed of the Revolution grew from soil that had already been prepared by Yrigoyen in Argentina, Haya de la Torre in Peru, Arévalo in Guatemala, Vasconcelos in Mexico, as well as Martí. These ideological precursors are usually ignored because most of them failed the anti-imperialism test by which the Cuban Revolution came to be defined. Yet the Revolution's clear emphasis on ethics and morality, and on education — a

significant part of an earlier Hispanic tradition — was also one of its defining characteristics.

These Latin American precursors, as well as Fidel and Guevara, all lay in the shadow of Karl Krause (1781–1832), an obscure German philosopher, a contemporary of Hegel, who died in Munich in 1832. It was their shared intellectual heritage from Krause, as much as that from Hegel or Marx, that allowed the alliance between Guevara and Castro to have such an intriguing and original impact on the ideology of the Cuban Revolution. The British economist Maynard Keynes used to claim that we are all in thrall to some long-dead economist; the ideology of the Cuban Revolution, without its revolutionaries being aware of it, owes much to the thought of a long-dead German philosopher, and to the Spanish thinkers who adopted his philosophy and his ethics in the second half of the nineteenth century.

Julián Sanz del Rio

The British Library in London possesses a yellowing copy of the first edition of *Ideal de la humanidad para la vida* by the Spanish philosopher and educationalist Julián Sanz del Rio (1814-69). Published in Madrid in 1860 (though not obtained by the British Museum until October 1893), Sanz del Rio's book, more than any other text in nineteenth century Spain, was to influence the study of philosophy there — and by extension education and politics — for more than a century. This is well known to historians of Spain. What has been less explored is the fact that Sanz del Rio's message was transmitted rapidly to many countries in Latin America — chiefly to Argentina, Uruguay, Peru, Guatemala, Mexico and Cuba — where it was to have a comparable impact.

The book describes a moral or ethical system based on a metaphysical foundation that is linked to a philosophy of history. The 'ideal for life' of Humanity, indicated in the title, would be achieved when Humanity, through the exercise of Reason, would move forward — via the family, the surrounding society and the nation-state — towards the ultimate harmony of the universe, the nations banding together to form the entire human society of the globe.

Sanz del Rio was a Catholic, but his philosophy seemed to put Man rather than God at the centre of his universe, and his radical ideas were soon to be considered as dangerous by the Catholic Church. In 1865, five years after its publication, his book was placed on the Catholic Index. (It was again forbidden reading in the twentieth century in Franco's Spain.)

Sanz del Rio was forced out of his job at the university of Madrid in 1868, as a result of Catholic pressure, in the year before he died.

The philosophic system embraced by Sanz del Rio might well have died with him had not Spain exploded in the September Revolution of 1868, an event that was partly sparked off by these controversies within the university. The Revolution brought the 25-year-old conservative reign of Queen Isabella II to an abrupt end, established a reformist government and led to the creation of the first Spanish Republic. The book published by Sanz del Rio ten years earlier became the bible of the reformists.

Yet the book was not by origin a Spanish book at all, but a translation and free adaptation of a German work first published in Dresden half a century earlier, in 1811, by Karl Krause, entitled *Das Urbild der Menschheit, ein Versuch* (The Ideal for Humanity). Although Krause appears in the Spanish and Latin American philosophical canon, he is largely forgotten in Germany, and ignored in Britain and the United States. Everyone has heard of the Viennese aphorist Karl Kraus, but Karl Krause remains basically unknown or ignored.

Karl Krause

Karl Krause was born in 1781 in Eisenburg, a town in the small German principality of Saxe-Gotha-Altenburg. He was brought up in a relatively progressive atmosphere: the local ruler was a supporter of both the American and the French revolutions, and the Weimar of Goethe and Schiller lay close by. Although he did not know them personally, Krause was a contemporary of the French utopian socialists, Charles Fourier (1772–1837) and Henri Comte de Saint Simon (1760–1825), and the 'philosophic system' that he eventually devised owed much to what is sometimes described as 'post-Kantian romantic idealism', typical of much German thought in the early years of the nineteeth century.

The son of a Lutheran pastor, Krause was an outstanding student, with interests in music, mathematics and the classics. He studied theology, philosophy and mathematics at the University of Jena, where he was a student of Fichte and Schelling. He graduated in 1802, and stayed on at Jena for a couple of years, a popular lecturer with students and a prolific producer of philosophical texts.

He married a colleague in 1802, Amalia Concordia Fuchs, and they had 14 children. Throughout his life he was often ill and in debt. His biographers remark on his permanently poor health — he suffered from epilep-

sy and bad eyesight — and on his financial incompetence, a characteristic unfortunately shared by his wife. In search of preferment and intellectual opportunity, he moved from Jena in 1805 to the University of Dresden, but the pickings were slim. His family lived on handouts from his father and on what he received from giving private lessons to students at the engineering academy. Yet he stayed in Dresden for 17 years, and the bulk of his philosophical work was done at that time.

Like many of his radical contemporaries, Krause was a freemason, though he had some trouble with the masons of his time. His history of masonry was deemed to reveal too many of its secrets. He was defeated by Hegel for the chair of philosophy in Berlin in 1813, and he subsequently moved to Göttingen, and later to Munich, where he died in 1832.

The principal authority in English on Krause and his work, and its subsequent trajectory in Spain and Latin America, is Carlos Stoetzer, an Argentine historian of German extraction who has worked for most of his life in the United States. His book, *Karl Krause and his Influence on the Hispanic World*, published in Cologne in 1999, is an indispensable work.

Krause's philosophy was based on the ethics of Man's perfection, and his followers in Spain and Latin America — the *krausistas* — were dedicated as a result to education and teaching. His most original contribution to political thought was his formula of 'harmonious rationalism', which Carlos Stoetzer defines as 'a rationalism which was positive and constructive, and which united instead of separating, and with which he attempted to build a new society based on love, beauty, consent and harmony'.[2]

K*rausismo*, Stoetzer suggests, was essentially a humanist creed, 'a philosophy of man for his full development, a goal which should be achieved with the formation of man useful at the service of humanity and country'.[3]

Krause seems to have been an early proponent of the idea of the 'New Man'. He did not seek to outline the best form of government, but the best form of Man, which in his view would lead to the perfection of Humanity. According to Krause, 'man had an ethical obligation to do his part in the perfection of the world', and Krause gave encouragement to this task by highlighting the value and significance of each individual.

While Reason could construct an image of a full and perfect man, Life might only reveal imperfect man. Yet in principle, Krause suggested, man

2 Carlos Stoetzer, *Karl Christian Friedrich Krause and his Influence in the Hispanic World* (Cologne, 1998), p. 12

3 *Ibid.*, p. 185

was 'capable of correcting his deficiencies'. The unfolding of history, in the eyes of Krause and his followers, was 'the chronicle of that gradual and actual correction'.

Yet Krause was not content to leave ethical developments to the impersonal hand of history. He also composed 21 ethical commandments that were taken to heart by his Spanish and Latin American followers. Number 21 is the most all-encompassing: 'Thou shall neither be lazy nor arrogant; never lie, simulate; never be envious, never show malicious joy, never be revengeful; rather work hard, be true, public-spirited and frugal, well-meaning, satisfied, forgiving, genuine and sincere.'[4]

Apart from his ethical principles, Krause had a number of other interesting proposals that have survived the test of time. He was an articulate defender of the rights of women, and he emphasised their equality in politics, arts and the sciences. He also championed the rights of children, suggesting that parents would be held accountable for the wellbeing of their children by the future world state. Krause was also before his time in discussing the rights of nature, arguing that 'the world of animals and plants, of stones and crystals, had to be respected, and could not be used solely for the purposes of man'.

Krause was an early proponent of a League of Nations, a hundred years before it became a reality. His first plan was published in 1814, as Napoleon's rule crumbled and a new order was being envisaged at the Congress of Vienna. Krause's aim was a lasting peace based on the promotion of Human Right.

Heinrich Ahrens

After Krause's death in 1832, his work was carried on by several disciples, notably in Brussels and Heidelberg. The most influential figure was Heinrich Ahrens (1808–74), who had studied with Krause at Göttingen. Ahrens specialised in law and philosophy, but his dissertation on federalism was considered too radical by the university authorities. A student rebellion in 1831, in which Ahrens participated, was crushed by Hanoverian troops and he was forced into exile. He established himself in Paris and then in Brussels, where he was offered a chair in philosophy. Later he was a delegate at the Frankfurt Parliament of 1848.

Ahrens created a Krausean school of philosophy at Brussels, where his most distinguished collaborator was Guillaume Tiberghien (1819–1901), a

4 *Ibid.*, p. 17

specialist in the philosophy of religion. Ahrens translated many of Krause's works into French, and became the principal disseminator of his thought outside Germany — into Belgium, France and Italy, and eventually to Spain and Portugal and Latin America.

In Germany itself neither Krause nor Ahrens made much headway. Krause's philosophy of harmony and solidarity, with its deeply ethical foundation, based on idealism, was not likely to make much headway in Germany after 1848. The political landscape had changed. As Stoetzer has pointed out, political idealism had died in the Revolution of 1848, giving way to *realpolitik*.[5]

Other countries were more receptive. Ahrens' most influential work, on the philosophy of law, *Cours du droit naturel*, was published in 1837, and soon translated into several European languages, including Spanish. 'Our theory', he wrote, 'also presents law meshing with the entire intellectual, moral and social organisations of humanity, with the laws of its historic development, and helping in the realisation of all the permanent goals of man and the social order.' Translated into Spanish as *Curso de derecho natural*, and published in Madrid in 1841, this became an important text for successive generations of students, both in Spain and in Latin America.

Ahrens' reputation was so widespread that when, in the 1840s, the Spanish minister of education, Pedro Gómez de la Serna, wanted someone to investigate the state of German philosophy, with a view to importing it into the universities of Spain, he dispatched the youthful Julián Sanz del Rio to Brussels to seek the German philosopher's advice. Ahrens sent him on to Heidelberg, where a group of *Krausist* philosophers was already established. Sanz del Rio studied there for two years before returning to Madrid to propagate these German ideas, and to translate Krause's principal work into Spanish.

'This eccentric choice', writes Raymond Carr, 'reflected Sanz del Rio's concern for the moral regeneration of his country as well as his intellectual limitations. He found in Krausism an intellectualised version of the Protestant ethic of self-improvement; a mystical belief in a God-given natural harmony, connecting right-thinking with good living.'[6]

The translation of Krause done by Sanz del Rio, and the later creation in Spain of the famous Institución Libre de Enseñanza, a progressive private university founded in 1876 by Francisco Giner de los Ríos, a man much

5 *Ibid*., p. 55

6 Raymond Carr, *Spain 1808–1975*, Oxford History of Modern Europe, 2nd edition (Oxford, 1982), p. 302.

influenced by Krause, led to the creation of the current of philosophical thought in Spain and the Americas that became known as *krausismo*.

The authority on *krausismo* in Spain is Juan López-Morillas, and in his book, *El krausismo español*, he argues that 'a considerable part of Spanish intellectual life' in the revolutionary period of the 1870s 'was dominated by the ideologues of Krausism'.[7] The revolutionaries of the Spanish Republic 'were untiring planners', producing innumerable blueprints and models 'with which they intended to rebuild Spain in the image and likeness of harmonic rationalism'.

Alistair Hennessy, however, in his book *The Federal Republic in Spain*, argues that the Krausistas 'never enjoyed wide popularity' in the Federal Republican movement, 'but they were important as a pressure group in championing women's education, slavery abolition, legal and penal reform'.[8] Raymond Carr, rather more harshly, suggests that there was a philosophical vacuum in Spain, now 'filled by nonsense'.[9] *Krausismo*, he argues, was 'an outdated and, in many ways, a preposterous system of thought'.

Yet the attention given to education by the *krausistas* was a commendable and logical development of Krause's thinking. Krause had been a friend of Friedrich Froebel, who was himself a disciple of Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi, and the ideas of these two great educationalists were soon spread about in many Latin American countries, resulting in the creation of hundreds (perhaps thousands) of *Kindergarten*.

The Institución Libre was one of the first centres in the world to be devoted to progressive education. It was 'a modern school', writes Stoetzer, 'in which the pupils were taught the *krausista* ideal of culture and humanity; the education of true men, healthy in spirit and body, with strong character, full self-assurance and true enthusiasm for a good cause'.[10]

José Martí

Among the first Latin American disciples of Krause's philosophy to take up the crusade for education was José Martí. The Cuban revolutionary had been exiled to Spain in 1871, when the propagation of Krause's thought by Sanz del Rio was at its height, and he spent three years studying at the

7 Juan López-Morillas, *El krausismo español* (Mexico City, 1954), translated as *The Krausist Movement and Ideological Change in Spain, 1854–1874* (Cambridge, 1981).

8 Alistair Hennessy, *The Federal Republic in Spain* (Oxford, 1962), p. 80.

9 Carr, *Spain*, p. 301.

10 Stoetzer, *Krause*, p. 108

universities of Madrid and Zaragoza, before returning to Latin America in 1874. He was exiled to Spain a second time in 1879, where he read and (according to Mercedes Serna Arnaiz's account in *El krausismo en Martí*) was much influenced by a version of Krause's philosophy written by Guillaume Tiberghien, one of Krause's Belgian followers.[11] Tiberghien's book had been translated into Spanish a few years earlier, in 1875.[12]

A journalist and political activist, Martí was interested above all in education. He was disappointed by what he found during his long exile in the United States. He had hoped to find, he wrote, 'the reading of beautiful things, the contemplation of the harmony of the universe, mental contact with great ideas and noble deeds, intimate dealings with the best things which the human soul has given forth in every epoch'.[13] But such visions were not available in materialist USA.

Martí set out to fill the gap, embarking on a project designed to capture the young for his philosophy. His part-work *La Edad de Oro* was conceived as a monthly magazine of 'recreation and instruction' for 'the children of America', and its first edition appeared in July 1889. Martí wrote it all himself. Each issue, of 32 pages with double columns, contained a wealth of drawings and engravings. In one of his short stories, *Cuentos de elefantes*, he writes of Britain's troubles in the Sudan, and the fate of General 'Chinese' Gordon at the hands of the Mahdi, a man 'who says he should rule because he is a free Moor and a friend of the poor'.

La Edad de Oro collapsed after a few issues as the result of a disagreement with its financial backer, who had requested some religious content in the magazine. Martí refused.

Martí's enthusiasm for educational projects was an obvious legacy from Krause. Another was Martí's adoption of the particular style of the *krausistas* in Spain — a style exhibited in the way they conducted their lives and even the clothes that they wore. The style is very noticeable in the portrayals of Martí that are still current in Cuba today. Every Martí museum in Cuba, and there are many of them, has an image of Martí in a black frock coat. It may be a photograph or a statue, or even the coat itself. This was the typically sombre uniform of the *krausistas*, a style set in Madrid by Sanz del Rio and his followers.

11 Mercedes Serna Arnaiz, *El krausismo en Martí,* Cuadernos Hispanoamericanos, vol. 521 (Madrid, November 1993).

12 Guillaume Tiberghien, *Los Mandamientos de la Humanidad, o la vida moral en forma de catecismo segun Krause* (Madrid, 1875).

13 *Works of Martí*, vol. xxxii, p. 69.

'The Krausists dressed soberly, usually in black', writes Juan López-Morillas of the first generation in Spain. 'Their faces were fixed in an impassive and severe expression, they walked with a preoccupied air, cultivated taciturnity, and when they spoke [they] did so in a quiet and slow voice, sprinkling their sentences with axioms that were often intentionally obscure, [they] avoided frivolous amusements and seldom frequented cafes and theatres.'[14]

A later Spanish philosopher, Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo, recognised the cultish behaviour of the *krausistas,* and he criticised them for adopting the characteristics of a Masonic brotherhood: 'they helped and protected each other; when they were in power, they divided the [university] chairs as if conquered booty; all looked alike, all dressed alike, all resembled each other in their exterior look … because *krausismo* is a subject that imprints character and changes even the appearances … All were grave with eyebrows that met … they were always playing their role …'[15]

The impact of Krause's thought on Martí has long been recognised, and it was first discussed in Cuba itself in the 1930s. Most early commentators emphasised Martí's debt to Krausean ethics rather than to his philosophy. A book by José Beguéz César, *Martí y el krausismo* (1944), denied that Martí had been influenced by Krausean philosophy, while a more recent Cuban historian, José Antonio Portuondo, has argued in *Letras Cubanas* (1982) that 'there was no radical Krausean influence in Martí'.[16] Portuondo accepts, however, that there were 'certain real affinities in the educational, philosophical, artistic and religious area'.

The positive importance of Krause was not seriously signalled until the publication of a book on Martí in 1986 by Peter Turton.[17] Turton argued cogently that Martí had drawn 'the basic premises of his world-view' from the neo-Kantian *krausista* movement that had influenced Spanish intellectuals from the middle of the nineteenth century.

A few years later, echoing Beguéz, Carlos Stoetzer suggested that Martí's interest in Krause did not go much beyond ethics. He argued that Martí had 'less interest for Krause and his philosophy than for the practical political application on the Spanish *krausistas* as attempted with the First Spanish Republic of 1873'. But Stoetzer was happy to believe that

14 López-Morillas, *El Krausismo Español*, p. 27

15 Stoetzer, *Krause*, p. 110.

16 José Antonio Portuondo, *Letras Cubanas* (Havana, 1982).

17 Peter Turton, *José Martí, Architect of Cuba's Freedom* (London, 1986).

Martí was interested in Krause's approach to ethics. Like the Spanish *krausistas*, Martí was a supporter of Krause's doctrine of Panentheism, defined by Stoetzer as 'the doctrine of philosophical harmony, the belief in the innate goodness of man, and the thought of liberal and democratic values which had arisen from that premise …'[18]

Fidel Castro

Through Martí and other influential Cuban intellectuals,[19] *krausismo* was to become a significant influence on progressive liberal opinion in Cuba in the first half of the twentieth century. Since the writings of Martí were to be a major intellectual influence on Fidel Castro, there can be little doubt that this *krausista* heritage via Martí helped to create the foundations of his early philosophical outlook. Castro's biographer, Tad Szulc,[20] notes that Castro, in prison in 1953 after the attack on the Moncada barracks in Santiago, requested two books on philosophy: *Philosophy in its Texts* (*La filosofía en sus textos*) by Julián Marías and *Preliminary Lessons of Philosophy* (*Sistema de la filosofía*) by Manuel García Morente (1886–1942), a Spanish *krausista* who had lectured in the 1930s at the University of Tucumán in Argentina. In Julián Marías' three volumes there is a section on Sanz del Rio and his version of Krause's philosophical system.

Fundamental to Castro's political vision are two elements inherited from Martí. One is Martí's emphasis on ethics, or 'duty', and the other is his particular definition of education, an essential ingredient of his political philosophy. Castro's emphasis on rural development is often assumed to be derived from his experience in the Sierra Maestra; in fact it derives from Martí. 'Do not forget the words of the Apostle, Martí', said Castro, in *History Will Absolve Me*, and he quoted Martí's own words: 'A grave mistake is being made in Latin America: in countries that live almost completely from the produce of the land, men are being educated exclusively for urban life, and are not trained for life on the farm.'

18 Stoetzer, *Krause*, p. 185.

19 Notably José Luís Mestre (1832–86), professor of philosophy at Havana and a noted lawyer and university reformer who fled to the United States after the September Revolution of 1868; Tristán de Jesús Medina (1833–86), a cleric and political activist who veered between Catholicism and Methodism, had studied in Philadelphia, Madrid and Germany and was also active during the Ten Years War; Antonio Bachiller y Morales (1812–89), a writer, lawyer, historian and philosopher; and Rafaél Montoro (1852–1933), a lawyer and philosopher who became a leading figure in the Cuban Liberal Party (later the Autonomist Party), which he represented in the Spanish Cortes in Madrid from 1878 to 1898, and was later active in the Cuban Conservative Party.

20 Tad Szulc, *Fidel: A Critical Portrait* (London, 1986), p. 214.

Recalling Martí's strong ethical sense, Castro quoted him to the effect that 'a true man does not seek the path where advantage lies, but rather, the path where duty lies'. This firm emphasis on education and ethics, made originally by Martí and echoed by Castro in 1953, lay behind the ideology of the Revolution in its early years.

Che Guevara

Krausismo came to influence the Cuban Revolution through a secondary channel. It was widely available in the liberal air breathed in by Ernesto Che Guevara in the provinces of Argentina in the 1930s and 1940s, at home and at school. While Martí had brought the new German–Spanish philosophy to Cuba, Hipólito Yrigoyen, the founder of Argentine Radicalism (the Unión Cívica Radical), had been influenced by Sanz del Rio's *Ideal de la Humanidad* and other similar texts.

Yrigoyen was twice president of Argentina, from 1916 to 1922 and again from 1928 to 1930, and according to Stoetzer, he put 'the stamp of Krausean philosophy on the entire country' for more than 30 years.

Such considerations would have remained long forgotten had not a later Radical president of Argentina in the 1980s, Raúl Alfonsín, decided to reclaim Yrigoyen and Krause as important ideological forebears — as a counterweight to Peronism. The Friedrich Ebert Foundation, an important aid donor in West Germany run by the Social Democrats, was anxious to fund a non-controversial project in an Argentina recently emerging from military rule (and with a significant German population), and it decided to fund conferences and research on the legacy of Krause. As a result there is now a wealth of information about the influence of Krause on Latin America.

Yrigoyen was a typical *krausista*, and a follower of *krausista* 'style'. Stoetzer writes of 'his seriousness and silence, his dark suits, his solemnity; at the same time his entire approach was friendly, and he allowed his pupils to take initiatives and be responsible for the class'. Osvaldo Alvarez, the historian of Yrigoyen's relationship to *krausismo*, suggests that the Spanish *krausismo* that Yrigoyen inherited was not so much a philosophical doctrine as a style of life, a political attitude and a cultural and moral outlook in a particular historic situation.[21]

In the provincial Guevara household in the 1930s the views and politics of Yrigoyen would have been commonplace, for Guevara's mother, Celia de la Serna, was an active supporter of the Argentine *radicales*.

21 Osvaldo Alvarez Guerrero, *Política y ética social: Yrigoyen y el krausismo, orígenes ideológicos de la Unión Cívica Radical* (Fuerte General Roca [Argentina], 1983), p. 63.

A further intellectual influence on Guevara with a *krausista* background was his first wife, Hilda Gadea, a Peruvian who had been active in Haya de la Torre's American Revolutionary Popular Alliance (APRA) movement. Guevara met Gadea in Guatemala in 1953, during the final year of the Guatemalan Revolution, and although the various Guevara biographers emphasise the predominance of Marxism during their political debates, Gadea was a tough *Aprista* ideologue with a different agenda.

Hilda Gadea's hero, Haya de la Torre, belonged to a Latin American generation that came to political maturity in the wake of the Córdoba university reforms in Argentina of 1918, an event in which it is also possible to see the influence of Krause. Haya de la Torre, apart from his well-known call (in founding the APRA programme of 1924) for 'action against Yankee imperialism' and for 'the internationalisation of the Panama Canal', put particular emphasis on education. His political programme gave particular weight to teaching, university extension and the establishment of '*universidades populares*'.

Guatemala itself was in the final throes of a revolutionary era when Guevara arrived there in 1953. The revolution had begun ten years earlier with the government of Juan José Arévalo, yet another educationalist influenced by *krausismo*. Arévalo, who had spent much of the 1930s in the *krausista* atmosphere of Argentina, was a trainer of teachers, who had imbibed *krausismo* through his reading of the legal works of Heinrich Ahrens. The training college at which he was a teacher in Guatemala in the early 1920s issued a typical *krausista* manifesto outlining its requirements for the country: 'Guatemala needs: correct citizens, loving parents, honest workers, just merchants, capable peasants, worthy teachers, conscientious rulers, jealous representatives, loyal soldiers and solid intellectuals.' This was to be the programme of the radical Guatemalan governments from 1945 to 1954, and it would certainly have left its mark on Guevara.

When he was thrown out of the country in the wake of the CIA-organised coup in 1954, Guevara arrived in Mexico, soon joining forces with Fidel Castro and the survivors of the attack on the Moncada Barracks. Over a period of two years the Cuban revolutionaries prepared themselves for an invasion of Cuba, and it is only possible to guess at the political notions they may have picked up while living in Mexico. But Mexico was certainly another country where the influence of Krause had spread into the area of education.

This development was chiefly the work of José Vasconcelos in the 1920s. Vasconcelos, the minister of education (and the patron of Diego

Rivera), was set on improving the educational level of the masses. This idealistic ambition led to the creation of rural schools, mobile cultural missions, village libraries and the free distribution of books. The cornerstone of his system was the *Kindergarten*, chiefly constructed along the lines of Froebel and Pestalozzi. Arévalo had noted the results on a visit to Mexico in 1927. He had been present when 5,000 boys and girls of primary school age had sung Mexican folksongs followed by the chorus from *Tannhäuser*, an occasion that celebrated both nationalism and the humanity of the wider world — in true *krausista* fashion.

Lauro Aguirre, the director of Mexico's principal teacher-training college in the 1920s, explained to Arévalo that the goal of his school was to train 'the new teacher who in his turn will develop the new man'.

Castro and Guevara arrived in Cuba on the *Granma* in December 1956, and two years later they were in power. In the early weeks of 1959 Castro spoke of plans to build schools in the Sierra Maestra, and, invoking the ethics of Martí, he said that there was 'no prize greater than that of fulfilling our duty'. Soon the revolutionaries had acquired a *krausista* 'style' that was all their own, retaining their unshaven beards and the *verde-olivo* of their guerrilla uniforms for many years to come. Guevara, for his part, talking to doctors in August 1960, mentioned for the first time the possibility of the Revolution creating 'a new type of human being'.

'New man' was born. Was this a *krausista* legacy? Perhaps.

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Much of what I have written here is surmise and conjecture, and the argument has been carried on very thin threads. I have tried to establish the links that exist between Karl Krause and the protagonists of the Cuban Revolution, but I am obliged to admit that they are tenuous at best. Yet given the huge amount of intellectual work that has been put into examining the influence of Marx and Hegel on developments in Latin America, enough evidence now exists to suggest that it would be worth considering the legacy of that other German–Spanish philosophical tradition, a tradition that had such a hold on the continent in the first half of the twentieth century.

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An early US enthusiast for the writings of Krause was Clay MacCauley (1843–1925), an Ulster Presbyterian by family origin, who ended up as a missionary in Japan. He wrote a biography, *Karl Krause: Heroic Pioneer for Thought and Life, a Memorial Record* (Berkeley, California, 1925). He also wrote a book on Krause's internationalism: *Krause's League for Human Right and Thereby World Peace* (Tokyo: Fukuin 1917). In an account of his own life, *Memories and Memorials: Gatherings from an Eventful Life* (Tokyo: Fukuin 1914), MacCauley described how he had travelled to Germany in 1873, aged 30, and had studied philosophy at Heidelberg and Leipzig. Acknowledging his debt to Krause, he wrote that 'I never became so fully a disciple that I could properly be named a follower of Krause, but I gladly acknowledge a great obligation to him because of the clearer apprehension, through him, of the philosophic grounding of my faith'.

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